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Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NEA-10 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 DHA-02 CU-02
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O R 241955Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0000
INFO CSCE COLLECTIVE
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 4282
DEPARTMENT FOR EUR/RPM

FROM USDEL CSCE

CINCEUR FOR POLAD

EO 11652 GDS
TAGS: CSCE
SUBJ: BELGRADE CSCE MEETING: WEEKLY HIGHLIGHTS, JUNE 18-24

SUMMARY: THERE ARE NOW THREE PRINCIPAL DRAFT AGENDAS FOR MAIN MEETING ON TABLE, WITH SEVERAL PROPOSED AMENDMENTS, BUT A FAIRLY WIDE GAP REMAINS BETWEEN MOST PARTICIPANTS,WHO DESIRE A DISTINCT REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION RECORD, AND SOVIETS, WHO CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR AGENDA WHICH WOULD BLUR DISCUSSION OF IMPLEMENTATION.MAJOR DEVELOPMENT THIS WEEK, HOWEVER, WAS GRADUALLY CLARIFYING PICTURE OF DYNAMICS OF CONFERENCE. IT IS BECOMING APPARENT THAT SOVIETS WILL BE EXTREMELY CAUTIOUS UNTIL THEY GAIN CONFIDENCE THAT U.S. EITHER DOES NOT INTEND, OR WILL BE UNABLE TO, PLACE THEM IN DOCK AT MAIN MEETING. THEIR PRIMARY APPEARS TO BE TO PLAY UPON CONCERNS OF MANY NATO ALLIES AND NEUTRAL/NON-ALIGNED (NNA) CONFIDENTIAL

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DELS ABOUT A POSSIBLE SUPER POWER CONFRONTATION. NNA ARE MAKING AN EFFORT TO PLAY A MORE COHESIVE ROLE. END SUMMARY.

1. A WEEK AGO THERE WERE TWO DRAFT AGENDAS ON TABLE: US/UK PROPOSAL PREPARED IN PRE-BELGRADE NATO CONSULTATIONS WHICH EMPHASIZES REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION AS PRIMARY

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TASK OF MAIN MEETING, AND SOVIET PROPOSAL, A STRAIGHT QUOTE FROM FINAL ACT WHICH HAS BEEN PRESENTED BY EASTERN BLOC AS WAY TO ORIENT DISCUSSION TOWARD FUTURE AND AVOID RECRIMINATIONS ABOUT FULFILLMENT OF HELSINKI COMMITMENTS. NINE NNA'S CAME FORWARD DURING WEEK WITH A COMPROMISE PROPOSAL WHICH CLOSELY PARALLELED ALLIED DRAFT. ROMANIA INTRODUCED A FEW NOT PARTICULARLY CONTROVERSIAL AMENDMENTS TO NNA DRAFT, AND POLES TABLED A VARIANT WHICH YIELDED PART WAY TO NNA'S ON SECONDARY AGENDA ITEMS DEALING WITH DECISION ON FURTHER MEETINGS AND DRAFTING OF A CONCLUDING DOCUMENT BUT STUCK CLOSELY TO ORIGINAL SOVIET MODEL ON IMPLEMENATION ISSUE.

2. SOVIETS HAVE RECEIVED NO SUPPORT FOR THEIR HARD-LINE POSITION THAT MAIN MEETING THIS FALL SHOULD BE CONSULTATIVE ONLY, AND THAT AGENDA MUST BE LIFTED VERBATIM FROM HELSINKI DOCUMENT. US/UK OR VLOSELY RELATED NNA DRAFT HAS SUPPORT OF ENTIRE MEETING EXCEPT FOR WARSAW PACT (MINUS ROMANIA). THIS KEY INITIAL ISSUE IS FAR FROM RESOLVED; SOVIETS HAVE GIVEN EVERY INDICATION THAT THEY WILL BE VERY STUBBORN, AND OUR SUPPORT, WHILE BROAD, MAY BE SHAKY.

3. PARADOXICALLY, MAIN SOVIET STRENGTH AT THIS POINT IS A FUNCTION OF THEIR OWN UNEASE. SOVIETS ARE CLEARLY WORRIED AOBUT WHAT U.S. HAS IN MIND WHEN IT SPEAKS OF A CONFIDENTIAL

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THOROUGH REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION. EASTERN BLOC REPS HAVE BEEN ACTIVE IN CORNERING MEMBERS OF U.S. DEL TO STRESS NEED TO AVOID SLANGING MATCH OVER HUMAN RIGHTS AND TO PROBE WHY U.S. WISHES TO EMPHASIZE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATIIN. WHILE THE SPEAK QUIETLY TO US TO EMPHASIZE THEIR DESIRE TO FIND REASONABLY COMPROMISES, THEIR TETE-A-TETES WITH OTHERS, AS REPORTED BY SEVERAL ALLIED DELS, TEND TO HARSHER AND MORE UNYIELDING.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 4282

4. EMERGING SOVIET STRATEGY APPEARS TO BE TO EXERCISE
GREAT CAUTION UNTIL THEY ARE CERTAIN THAT THERE IS
NO PROSPEITY
ON HUMAN RIGHTS TRIAL IN THE FALL, AND
TO HINT TO OTHERS THAT UNLESS A SAFE PROCEDURAL FORMAT
IS DEVISED CSCE AD DETENTE ARE IN FOR ROUGH DAYS.
THIS IS A NOT INEFFECTIVE STRATEGY. MANY DELS,
INCLUDING SOME OF OUR ALLIES, BELIEVE THAT SOVIETS ARE
GENUINELY CONCERNED ABOUT A REVIEW OF THEIR HUMAN
RIGHTS RECORD AND THAT PRESSING THIS CONCEPT COULD
HAVE SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES FOR DETENTE. DESPITE
DEFENSIVE NATO CONSULTATIONS AND MANY STATEMENTS BY
ADMINISTRATION AND BY U.S. DEL, THESE DELS ARE
STILL NOT CERTAIN THAT THE U.S. PERCEIVES THE LIMITS
TO BE FEASIBLE AT BELGRADE AS THEY DO. CONSEQUENTLY,
THEY HAVE TENDENCY TO SLIDE OFF THEIR OWN POSITIONS IN
EFFORT TO REASSURE BOTH THE SOVIETS AND THEMSELVES THAT FALL
MEETING WILL BE NON-CONFRONTATIONAL. THIS SITUATION
REQUIRES CONSIDERABLE PATIENCE IN EXPLAINING LOGIC AND
MODERATION OF OUR OWN POSITIONS TO SOVIETS AND TO OUR
ALLIES AND IN NOT MOVING TOWARD COMPROMISES UNTIL SOVIETS
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ARE READY TO BARGAIN AS WELL.

5. CSCE THEOLOGY SAYS THAT THIS IS A CONFERENCE OF 35
FULLY SOVERIGN STATES OPERATING OUTSIDE ALLIANCES.
THIS HAS NEVER BEEN FULLY REFLECTED IN REALITY, AND
MANY OF SAME GENEVA PATTERSN ARE RE-EMERGING AT BELGRADE.
EAST REMAINS, OF COURSE, THE MOST MONOLITHIC, WITH THE
EXCEPTION OF ROMANIA. SOMEWHAT MORE FORTHCOMING POLISH
POSITION ON NNA PROPOSAL WAS QUICKLY REINED IN. NATO,
AND FOR THAT MATTER EC-9, ARE MUCH LESS ORGANIZED AND
MUCH LESS UNIFORM IN THEIR APPROACH ANY MEMBER CAN
STRAY FROM A CAREFULLY WORKED-OUT CONSENSUS SUCH AS
US/UK DRAFT DECISION SHEET AS SUITS HIS TACTICAL PERCEP-

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TIONS. BELGIUM AND FRANCE, FOR EXAMPLE, BEGAN TO MOVE TOWARD NNA FORMULATION ON REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION ALMOST AS SOON AS DRAFT WAS ON TABLE. ONE OF OUR TASKS HAS BEEN TO SPEAK FIRMLY FOR ALLIED PROPOSAL, AS WE DID AT JUNE 24 PLENARY, IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN AS SOLID A FRONT AS POSSIBLE AND TO AVOID GIVING WESTERN CONCESSIONS BEFORE SOVIETS ARE READY TO MATCH THEM WITH CONCESSIONS OF THEIR OWN.

6. NNA'S HAVE ALWAYS PLAYED A CENTRAL CSCE ROLE IN ATTEMPTING TO BROKER POSITIONS OF EAST AND WEST, BUT WITH THEIR GENEVA EXPERIENCE AND TWO YEARS OF CONSULATION BEHIND THEM, NNA'S HAVE BEEN SEEKING TO PLAY A MORE COHESIVE ROLE HERE, TO THE POINT WHERE THERE ARE ALREADY REMARKS ABOUT "THE NEW NINE." THIS IS A POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW BOTH BECAUSE NNA'S TEND TO SEE MOST ISSUES ESSENTIALLY FROM WESTERN PERSPECTIVE AND BECAUSE, OVER LONG-RUN, AN NNA BLOC MAY PRODUCE A LOWEST-COMMON DENOMINATOR EFFECT THAT WILL RESTRAIN IDIOSYNCRATIC TENDENCIES OF MAVERICKS
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SUCH AS MALTA AND YUGOSLAVIA.
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